

## Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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R 311600Z MAY 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4934  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
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E O 11652: NA  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GE  
SUBJ: SED ANNOUNCES STEPPED-UP PROPAGANDA EFFORT

SUMMARY: WITH A POLITBURO RESOLUTION AND SPEECHES BY  
HONECKER AND POLITBURO MEMBER WERNER LAMBERZ, THE SED HAS  
LAUNCHED A SIGNIFICANT NEW CAMPAIGN AIMED AT INCREASING THE  
PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA EFFORT AT ALL LEVELS OF  
GDR SOCIETY. REFERRING TO A NEW SITUATION IN THE GDR  
RESULTING FROM INCREASED EAST-WEST CONTACTS AND NEW ECONOMIC  
PRESSURES, THE SED IS FOCUSING ON THE NEED FOR LOCAL PARTY  
OFFICIALS TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY AND MORE OPENLY WITH  
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APPARENTLY INCREASING QUESTIONS ABOUT IDEOLOGY AND POLICY  
FROM THE GDR POPULATION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE SED'S SUDDEN PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN GOT UNDERWAY  
ON MAY 21 WITH THE PUBLICATION IN NEUES DEUTSCHLAND OF  
A POLITBURO RESOLUTION DATED MAY 18 TITLED "THE FURTHER  
DUTIES OF PARTY POLITICAL PROGAGANDA". THE SED FOLLOWED

UP WITH A TWO-DAY MEETING MAY 26-27 IN EAST BERLIN OF 900 PARTY FUNCTIONARIES RESPONSIBLE FOR AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA FROM ALL OVER THE GDR, TO CONVEY THE NEW LINE TO THE LOCAL LEVEL.

2. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS AT THE MEETING, HONECKER STRESSED GDR ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE, THE NEED FOR GREATER PRODUCTIVITY, AND FULFILLMENT OF THE SOCIALIST CONCEPT OF FREEDOM IN THE GDR. REMINDING HIS LISTENERS THAT THE 1976 SED NINTH PARTY CONGRESS HAD CALLED FOR A GREATER ROLE FOR THE SED AND AN INCREASED FOCUS ON POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL WORK, HONECKER NOTED THAT DUE TO "OPEN CONDITIONS" IN THE GDR AND AN INTENSIFIED IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WITH THE WEST, NEW DEMANDS WERE NOT PLACED ON THE SED. THE GDR POPULATION HAD TO BE GIVEN THE PROPER PROSPECTIVE ON THE CURRENT SITUATION, WHICH NECESSITATED A GREATER PROPAGANDA EFFORT AND EVER CLOSER TIES WITH THE SED AND THE GDR CITIZENRY.

3. A MORE DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE REASONS FOR THE GDR'S NEW IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN CAME IN THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION AND IN A MAY 26 SPEECH BY THE POLITBURO MEMBER RESPONSIBLE FOR AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA, WERNER LAMBERZ. THE PRINCIPAL POINTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

4. THE NEW CONDITION: THE SED IS ARGUING THAT A "COMPLICATED" CONDITION HAS RESULTED FROM GDR SUCCESSES IN PURSUING A POLICY OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH THE WEST. AS LAMBERZ PUT IT, THE INCREASE IN CONTACTS WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE WEST, ADDED TO THE FACT THAT THE GDR LIES AT THE MEETING POINT OF THE TWO WORLD SYSTEMS, NOW PLACES NEW DEMANDS ON GDR PROPAGANDA. THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION ADMITS THAT NEW POLITICAL QUESTIONS DEMANDING AN ANSWER HAVE ARISEN DUE TO OPEN CONDITIONS IN THE GDR, AND STATES THAT SUCH QUESTIONS FROM THE GDR CITIZENRY ARE BEST HANDLED ON A ONE-TO-ONE BASIS, IN PERSONAL DISCUSSION. WHILE HONECKER PLAYS UP GDR ECONOMIC SUCCESSES IN HIS REMARKS, THE PROBLEMS ARE LEFT FOR LAMBERZ, WHO ADMITS THAT THE WESTERN ECONOMIC "CRISIS" AND WORLD-WIDE INCREASES IN RAW MATERIAL PRICES HAVE PLACED NEW PRESSURES ON THE GDR ECONOMY AS WELL.

5. THE THREAT: LAMBERZ ASSERTS THAT DUE TO ITS OWN CRISIS, THE WEST IS SHOWING A NEW AGGRESSIVENESS IN EMPLOYING MORE COORDINATED IDEOLOGICAL METHODS IN AN ATTEMPT TO CREAT "COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY" DIVERSION

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AGAINST THE GDR. ACCORDING TO LAMBERZ, AT NO TIME I  
THE PAST HAVE SOM MANY PEOPLE OR SO MANY NEW METHODS  
BEEN DRAWN INTO THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE. THE POLITBURO  
RESOLUTION STATES THAT THE IMPERIALISTS ARE ATTEMPTING  
TO USE INCREASED EASTWEST CONTACTS TO THEIR OWN  
ADVANTAGE, AND THUS MUST BE REBUFFED THROOUGH IMPROVED  
PROPAGANDA WORK IN THE GDR.

6. THE FRG: WHILE HONECKER REMAINS SILENT ON THE  
FRG, LAMBERZ ENGAGES IN A STRONG ATTACK ON " INFLUENTIAL  
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CIRCLES" IN THE FRG WHICH IGNORE AND UNDERMINE EXISTING

TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS. HE WARNS THAT ATTEMPTS TO PRESENT INTERFERENCE IN GDR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AS SOMETHING NORMAL NOT ONLY JEOPARDIZES FURTHER NORMALIZATION BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR, BUT ALSO ENDANGERS WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED. THE SAME IS TRUE, HE ARGUES, FOR ACTIVITIES SUCH AS MANIPULATION OF THE "QA ON WEST BERLIN". IN A SECTION OF HIS SPEECH CARRIED BY EAST GERMAN NEWS SERVICE ADN BUT OMITTED FROM THE ND VERSION, LAMBERZ CRITICIZES THOSE WHO REFUSE TO ACCEPT A SEPARATE GDR CITIZENSHIP AND WARNS AGAINST FRUITLESS THREATS OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE AGAINST THE GDR. IN ANOTHER SEGMENT LEFT OUT OF THE ND ACCOUNT, LAMBERZ NOTES THAT "REALISTS" IN BONN ARE SUBJECT TO INCREASING PRESSURE FROM "OTHER SOURCES" WHO SEEK A NEW SLIGHTLY MODIFIED VERSION OF THE COLD WAR.

7. THE GDR'S ECONOMIC EMPHASIS - PRODUCTIVITY AND SECURITY: LAMBERZ STRESSES THE NEED FOR GDR CITIZENS TO GAIN THE PROPER PERSPECTIVE ON THE GDR ECONOMY AND TO REALIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY AND THE "UNITY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY". AT THE SAME TIME, LAMBERZ ECHOES THE STANDARD GDR PROPAGANDA LINE THAT THE GDR PROVIDES GREATER SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SECURITY THAN THE WEST. IN THIS REGARD, HE MAKES AN UNUSUALLY OPEN REFERENCE TO "REFUGEES" FROM THE GDR, MANY OF WHOM FEEL INSECURE IN THE WEST, HE ASSERTS, AND CHOOSE TO RETURN TO THE GDR.

8. FREEDOM IN THE GDR: LAMBERZ TAKES THE OFFENSIVE IN OUTLINING THE GDR'S INTERPRETATION OF FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS WHILE ATTACKING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THE FRG. BUILDING UPON THE GDR'S EMPHASIS ON ECONOMIC SECURITY, LAMBERZ CHARACTERIZES FREEDOM IN THE GDR AS FREEDOM "FROM" VARIOUS EVILS: FROM UNEMPLOYMENT, CRISIS, RACISM, INEQUALITY OF THE SEXES. HE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ARGUES THAT FREEDOM LIES IN RECOGNIZING THE LAWS OF NATURE AND SOCIETY AND THEIR APPLICATION IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS. A SECTION OF HIS SPEECH DEALING WITH INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT IS REFERRED TO BRIEFLY BUT OMITTED FROM THE ND VERSION.

9. THE SOCIALIST NATION; THE SED RESOLUTION CALLS FOR A NEW EMPHASIS ON SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM IN THE GDR AND INCREASED IDEOLOGICAL EMPHASIS ON THE GDR'S HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. IT REPEATS THE STANDARD GDR FORMULATION THAT SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM MUST BE COMBINED WITH PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. LAMBERZ TREATS THE NATION PROBLEM AT LENGTH IN HIS SPEECH AND ATTACKS THOSE IN THE FRG

WHO MAINTAIN A SINGLE GERMAN NATION STILL EXISTS.  
FOR LAMBERZ THE GDR HAD PROVEN INSTEAD THAT THE  
"AGGRESSIVE, CHAUVINISTIC" GERMAN CHARACTER WAS NOT  
AN UNCHANGING NATIONAL CHARACTER, BUT A SOCIAL CHARACTER  
THAT HAS CLEARLY BEEN MODIFIED IN THE GDR. LAMBERZ  
WARNS THAT THE "REVANCHIST GERMAN BOURGEOISIE" IN THE  
FRG WAS ATTEMPTING TO CONSTRUCT A GERMAN "COMMONALITY"  
ON THE BASIS OF HISTORY. HOWEVER, THE GDR'S READING  
OF HISTORY SHOWED THAT THE GERMAN BOURGEOISIE HAD TWICE  
BROUGHT THE NATION TO RUIN. FOR LAMBERZ, PARTY  
IDEOLOGUES SHOULD DO MORE TO DRAW UPON THE PROGRESSIVE  
ASPECTS OF THE GERMAN TRADITION TO PROMOTE SOCIALISM  
PATRIOTISM IN THE GDR.

10. A NEW TONE. THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION STRESSES  
THE NEED FOR A "TRUSTFUL DIALOGUE" BETWEEN THE SED  
AND THE GDR POPULATION. IT URGES SED FUNCTIONARIES  
TO TREAT CITIZENS WITH RESPECT, REMAIN OPEN TO HONEST  
CRITICISM, AND PROMOTE TRUE DIFFERENCES OF OPINION

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IN SOLVING PROBLEMS. IT CALLS FOR AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH THE CITIZEN FEELS FREE TO SPEAK OUT. IT ALSO COMES OUT FOR THE USE OF CLEAR LANGUAGE IN EXPRESSING THE SED'S POSITION. WHILE URGING INCREASED OPENNESS, HOWEVER, THE RESOLUTION SEEKS AN INCREASINGLY "OFFENSIVE AND DISPUTATIOUS" PROPAGANDA AGAINST IMPERIALIST IDEOLOGY.

11. EUROCOMMUNISM: IN EMPHASIZING GDR DEVOTION TO THE SOVIET UNION, LAMBERZ INDIRECTLY ATTACKS EUROCOMMUNISM BY CRITICIZING THOSE WHO DISTANCE THEMSELVES FROM THE SOVIET UNION AS CONTRIBUTING NOTHING TO THE RESOLUTION.  
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IN LAMBERZ' OPINION, NO ONE HAS BROUGHT "EVEN THE SMALLEST PIECE OF SOCIALISM" INTO THE WORLD EXCEPT IN ALLIANCE WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ALONG THE SAME LINES, THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION NOTES THAT THOSE WHO PRESENT THEMSELVES AS THE "REFORMERS OF SOCIALISM" MERELY ATTRACT ATTENTION AWAY FROM IMPERIALISTS AIMS AND HARM "REAL SOCIALISM".

12. PROPAGANDA EMPHASIS: BOTH LAMBERZ AND THE POLITBURO RESOLUTION CALL FOR AN INCREASED ROLE FOR THE SED AND INDICATE THAT THE NEW IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN IS AIMED AT ALL GDR CITIZENS, PARTY OR NON-PARTY. THE SED RESOLUTION ASSIGNS GREATER IMPORTANCE TO INITIATIVE AND QUICK REACTION AT THE LOCAL PARTY LEVEL AGAINST IDEOLOGICAL ATTACKS FROM THE WEST. IT STATES THAT THE SED WILL DO MORE TO KEEP PARTY FUNCTIONARIES INFORMED OF THE CURRENT DIRECTION OF SUCH ATTACKS AGAINST THE GDR. IT ALSO CALLS FOR THE MORE EFFECTIVE LINKING OF THE MASS MEDIA TO VERBAL AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

13. COMMENT: THE SED'S CALL TO ARMS ON A MORE EXTENSIVE, AND THEORETICALLY MORE OPEN PROPAGANDA EFFORT INDICATES THAT THE TWO FACTORS CITED IN THE GDR'S SO CALLED "NEW SITUATION" - INCREASED WESTERN CONTACTS AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES - MAY BE GIVING THE SED PROBLEMS. IT IS TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT THE SED CALLED FOR A GREATER ROLE FOR THE PARTY AND MORE OPENNESS IN ITS NEW PARTY PROGRAM PRIOR TO THE NINTH PARTY CONGRESS IN MAY 1976, AS WELL AS AT THE CONGRESS ITSELF. IN ADDITION, THE SED'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST WOLF BIERMANN BEGINNING IN NOVEMBER APPEARED TO USHER IN A DEFACTO INCREASE IN PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL NOW GIVEN

MORE CONCRETE FORM IN THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN.

14. WHILE THE GDR IS FAR FROM INTERNAL INSTABILITY,  
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INCREASED CONTACTS WITH THE WEST APPEAR TO HAVE RESULTED  
IN A MORE OPEN ATTITUDE IN THE GDR POPULATION RENDERING  
THE SED'S PAT PROPAGANDA ANSWERS INCREASINGLY INEFFECTIVE.  
THAT THE SED SEES THE NEED TO RESPOND TO THIS  
NEW OPENNESS IS INDICATED IN RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENTS  
BY HONECKER AND OTHER GDR LEADERS IN WHICH SUBJECTS LIKE  
THE WALL AND GDR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN TREATED  
WITH USUSUAL FRANKNESS. NOW THE SED'S MESSAGE  
IN LAUNCHING ITS NEW PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN APPEARS TO  
BE: WE MUST COUNTER THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN CONTACTS AND  
ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES WITH A STEPPED UP PROPAGANDA  
EFFORT, BUT WE ARE FORCED TO EMPLOY MORE NUANCED ARGUMENTS  
AND A MORE OPEN TONE THAN IN THE PAST.

15. WE NOTE IN LAMBERZ'S REMARKS ON FRG-GDR RELATIONS  
A MORE UNCOMPROMISING TONE THAN THAT EMPLOYED BY HONECKER  
RECENTLY. IT MAY BE SIGNIFICANT THAT LAMBERZ'S WARNINGS  
AGAINST FRG ECONOMIC PRESSURES AND HIS IMPLICIT DOUBTING  
OF WHETHER THE BONN COALITION CAN WITHSTAND PRESSURE  
FROM "COLD WAR" SUPPORTERS WERE OMITTED ALTOGETHER FROM  
THE ND VERSION OF HIS SPEECH. IN ADDITION, LAMBERZ'S  
UNUSUALLY DOWNBEAT STATEMENT THAT FRG INTERFERENCE IN  
GDR INTERNAL AFFAIRS COULD ENDANGER NOT JUST FURTHER  
FRG-GDR NORMALIZATION, BUT ALSO THAT WHICH HAS ALREADY  
BEEN ACHIEVED IN THESE RELATIONS, WAS NOT HIGHLIGHTED  
IN THE NEUES DEUTSCHLAND SUMMARY OF THE SPEECH. THESE OMISSIONS

MAY INDICATE THAT LAMBERZ WENT FARTHER THAN THE PARTY  
INTENDS TO GO IN ATTACKING THE FRG SO SHORTLY BEFORE  
BELGRADE AND A NEW PHASE OF FRG-GDR NEGOTIATIONS.POLANSKY

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**TAGS:** PFOR, PINT, GC, (HONECKER, ERICH), (LAMBERZ, WERNER)  
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